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Conference of the Central American States held in Washington during the past winter. Various measures were agreed upon and put into the shape of treaties, tending to promote harmony and preserve the peace between the five Central American republics, which have in the past been the scene of so much strife, the most prominent and practicable of which was the establishment of an international court for these republics before which all questions between them are to be brought in the future for peaceful determination. It is the first time in the history of nations that such a permanent international tribunal has been established, and its operation will be watched with much interest. Judged from the past conduct of those states, it may encounter obstacles, but with their consent it has the moral support of the two great neighboring republics of Mexico and the United States, and under their influence we may anticipate that this international court will have a salutary effect in preserving peace in this long distracted section of the hemisphere.

The third event calling for notice is the action of the Secretary of State, Mr. Root, in negotiating arbitration treaties with eleven nations, among them some of the most powerful, including our northern and southern neighbors; and in securing for them the unanimous approval of the Senate. When we recall the disappointment experienced by the friends of arbitration three years ago because of the disagreement between the President and the Senate on this subject, our estimate of the skill, good judgment and devotion to peace of our present Secretary of State is greatly heightened. It is fortunate for us and the world that the foreign relations of our government are under the control of so able and conservative a statesman, a lover of peace and justice, possessing the confidence of the President and the country.

The laying of the corner-stone in Washington of the edifice which is to be the home of the Bureau of the twenty-one American republics is an event of no slight significance. The treaties negotiated by a number of the powers of Europe by which their territorial rights in the territories bordering on the North and the Baltic Seas are to be respected is another omen of peace. These and other subjects will be discussed by the speakers who are to address the Conference.

Before closing, I desire to make a brief reference to some of the obstacles to the attainment of universal arbitration which it must be the task of the friends of peace to overcome.

Two objects which seemed on the point of realization at The Hague, and which had the support of an overwhelming majority of the nations, failed of accomplishment for want of unanimity. Obligatory arbitration to a limited extent would have been adopted but for the determined opposition of Germany, the great military power of the world. The permanent arbitration tribunal would have been established but for the jealousy of a few of the smaller states. It should be the task of the friends of peace throughout the world to create such a public sentiment that when the next Peace Conference assembles at The Hague these two measures shall be enacted into treaties.

To those of us in the United States who believe that arbitration is a wise and practicable substitute for war, the recrudescence of the martial spirit in this country

during the past year has been a source of solicitude and some discouragement. The dispatch of our great fleet of battleships and their auxiliaries on a voyage around the world, an event in military annals heretofore unprecedented, and the senseless rumors of a coming war with Japan, have been the occasion of this awakened spirit of militarism.

Hitherto in our history our people and our statesmen have been content to have our country grow and develop in the peaceful pursuits of the industries, commerce and intelligence. We have congratulated ourselves that our continental isolation had removed us from the strife and political complications of the warlike nations of the earth, with no dangerous neighbors. We have been satisfied to have our nation stand before the world as the model republic, cultivating friendship with all peoples and cherishing no military ambitions. The record of a hundred and twenty years of peace, with less than five years of foreign war since our independence, is a record of which a nation may well be proud. But we seem to be entering upon a new career. The cry now is for a great navy equal to any other nation and an army able to repel a hostile invasion; and the representatives of the people are voting seventy per cent. of the entire revenues of the government for a war budget.

I have had some opportunity to study the spirit and policy of the nations of Europe and the East, and I am pleased to say that I see no threatening danger to our peace and safety. In my opinion there never was a time when there was less likelihood of war between us and foreign nations than to-day. It behooves the friends of peace and arbitration to raise their voice in sturdy opposition to this clamor to place our republic on a war footing commensurate with the martial nations of Europe. Our destiny in the future, as in the past, should be along the paths of peaceful industries and the intellectual and moral well-being of our people. The victories of peace are infinitely greater than those of war. The Geneva arbitration gave our country greater prestige and glory than any battle ever fought by our soldiers. In that direction lie our true greatness and glory.

The United States Should Lead in Limitation of Armaments.

BY JUSTICE DAVID J. BREWER, OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

Remarks on Moving the Adoption of the Platform of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, May 22, 1908.

Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: I move the adoption of this report as the Platform of this Conference. It is a recognition of what has been accomplished, and what is now an existing fact. Some of us, in the discussion which we had at the committee meeting, thought that some expression would be appropriate in reference to the limitation of armaments. But we agreed finally to say nothing about that, because we want this report to go out as the unanimous expression of the views of the Conference and to introduce no disturbing question into the Platform.

This is primarily not a peace conference, but an arbitration conference, and it is arbitration which we are seeking by this Conference and successive conferences to bring about. At the same time, as Mr. Smiley has well

said, there is here a freedom of expression of views. Every one is at liberty to say what he thinks on these questions, and I am going to take advantage of that freedom to say in a few words that I believe in the limitation of armaments, that I believe it is the privilege and the duty of this nation to lead in that direction. [Great applause.]

Last Monday I spoke at a great gathering in Philadelphia, in which I urged material considerations which would justify and uphold this nation in starting upon a career of limitation of armaments. I do not propose to go over what I said then, but I want to suggest another thought. I was very much pleased to hear my friend, Judge Stiness, say that there seemed to be some over-ruling power which was moving along the lines of human action to-day, and bringing the disposition of the nations towards the successful accomplishment of the settlement of disputes, international disputes, by arbitration. I believe in that. History is not a mere haphazard succession of unrelated and disconnected facts; but "through the ages one increasing purpose runs!" There was in the keeping of this continent, unknown to civilization for all the many centuries, and bringing it to their knowledge only within the last four centuries, a purpose in relation to the work of this nation. Many things have been suggested in reference to that. One is that at that time, or about that time, the printing press was given to man. So it has been said that this nation was to be on this continent the seat of the widest, most universal education and intelligence. It has been. The Bible was taken as authority and man was put, in the settlement of all the great questions of time and eternity, face to face with his Maker. It has also been said that this nation was intended to be one in which religion should be the most universal, the most personal. And it has been. We have no state church; every man looks up into the blue heavens above him, in the faith that there somewhere is an infinite being, his Father and his Friend, and with him directly he deals. So it seems to me there was a purpose in this republic, that it should lead in the great cause of the settlement of international disputes peacefully.

This nation is a composite nation. You go to Germany and the Germans control. There are a few others dwelling there, but it is a German nation. You go to Japan, and while Japan welcomes foreigners there to dwell in its borders, yet it is a Japanese nation. But this continent, this republic, was settled by Englishmen and Germans and Frenchmen and Swedes; indeed, every nation on the face of the globe has sent some of its bravest and strongest and brainiest men to help fashion this republic; and out of these composite races is being built up this nation, which of all nations on the face of the globe most represents the brotherhood of man. And where there is that brotherhood of man there is going to be no fighting. It seems to me that it is one of the lessons that we may draw from history that the Almighty has in the counsels of eternity a purpose that this republic should stand in front, above all the great nations on the earth, as leader in the cause of universal peace. So I think that in order to establish and maintain that leadership she must lead off in the limitation of armaments. It is either one of two things. Some nation has got to lead off or else we shall go on increasing the burden of naval and military expenses until the people repudiate

them all and there is one great revolution. So I think it is the privilege and the duty of this nation to lead off in that direction.

There is another thought. When the angels sang their song at Bethlehem, announcing the birth of the Prince of Peace, their song was, "Peace on earth, goodwill to men." And while the record does not say that Mary, watching her babe in the manger, heard that angelic song, I am sure that she did, for there is no ear so acute to catch the faintest notes of a prophetic song in respect to her child as the ear of a mother. There were fore-shadows gathering round the early life of that child; and we are told that Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart; and when he came to the end of his life, he said, "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you."

There is no other nation on the face of the globe in which woman has so pronounced and conspicuous public activity as in this. I am not here to champion or prophesy woman suffrage, but I note the fact, which every man notes, that within the last half century there has been a wondrous change in her life. She has come out from the seclusion of the home and taken her place in the public activities of the nation,—in conferences, in public gatherings, in a hundred ways she is directly and powerfully influencing public thought. It is not now said that by her silent influence over husband and father or son or brother she is bringing things about, but it is noted that her outspoken and public activities are greater here—moulding public opinion, shaping public acts—than anywhere else in the world. Now if there is any one person on the face of the globe who stands most loyal to the cause of peace, it is the mother. No mother ever draws her baby boy to her bosom without a faith, a hope that that boy shall not be brought up to be the spoil of the merciless bullet. She believes in peace, and she is coming to take her great position as an active force in this republic; and it will be, as it is here to-day, outspoken and strong for the settlement of national disputes by arbitration and pacific means rather than by war. Is it not an authentication, the finger of Providence pointing to the fact that this nation is to be a leader in this great cause, when one of the greatest influences in our public action is as nowhere else the women of this republic?

I live, and as I live the stronger becomes my faith that whatever temporary changes there may be, the great movement of this nation is going to be steadily forward in the assertion of the duty of maintaining arbitration or other peaceful settlements of international disputes. And yet, as I said, I endorse this platform. It expresses what has been accomplished, what is the present state, and leaves everyone to express freely his own personal views upon the matter.

And, Mr. Smiley, I may not have a chance to say a word this evening to you. You are eighty years young. As you come into the reclining days of life, which we hope will be far distant, the pleasantest recollections which will fill your heart, the pleasantest things which will arrest your attention, will be not this beautiful spot, this magnificent house, these lakes and woods, these drives, and all those things that appeal so strongly to everyone who visits them; but the sweetest recollection, the pleasantest thing in your thought, will be the work that you have done for the Indian and in the cause of

peace. You have in these conferences written your name high on the roll of the world's leaders in the cause of peace, and when the time comes, as it will come, when the nations shall learn war no more, when peace shall prevail, people will look back at the heroes of the great cause and Albert Smiley's name will be way toward the top. Personally, I thank you for the privilege I have had of coming here the last few years. I have gone away from every one of these conferences with a new inspiration, feeling more and more the solemn duty resting upon me in my humble way to do whatever I can for the cause of international peace. And I venture the assertion that of all this great gathering here, everyone goes away with the feeling that you have inspired him or her to greater faithfulness in this noble work. I crown you with the laurel of "The Great Leader of Peace!"

The Press and the Cause of International Peace.

BY ROLLO OGDEN, EDITOR OF THE "NEW YORK EVENING POST."

Address at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, May 22, 1908.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: In spite of the chairman's complimentary allusion, for which I express my acknowledgments for myself and the newspaper for which I work, I still cannot but feel, in common with every other newspaper man present at this Conference, I presume, that I find myself in a position which is defensive, or at least apologetic, almost as much so as the navy, Admiral Chadwick! [Admiral Chadwick: No, I make no apology for the navy.]

In the midst of all the instruction and stimulus to be derived from the proceedings and addresses of this Conference, there has been one note sounded which could not but fall rather reproachfully upon the ear of any one connected with the press; it has been audible in the remarks of missionaries and clergymen, lawyers and statesmen, university presidents, and there was even in the address of the Japanese ambassador this morning a delicate and veiled allusion to irresponsible critics, which I suppose looked at the press. The sentiment I refer to is, either tacitly implied or openly expressed, that the modern journalism, the newspaper of to-day, is to be counted among the chief enemies of the peace of the world, and indeed the very order of your program here, the placing of us editors at the final meeting, seems to me to wear something of the air of a court proceeding, wherein, after presenting indictment and piling up evidence, you call upon us to make the best defense possible. Indeed, a very sensitive and conscience-stricken journalist might feel that this was the solemn moment when the Conference bade us rise and answer the question, "What have you to say why sentence of death shall not be pronounced upon you?"

Well, ladies and gentlemen, there is little for us to do, I think, but to cast ourselves upon the mercy of the court. We must confess, if we are honest, that the freedom of the press has not in all particulars worked out as its early champions hoped. It was expected to bind nations together. Too often, unfortunately, it has helped the setting of nations against each other. The press, when free and cheap and universal, was expected to represent reason and humanity in its treatment of inter-

national relations; but not seldom, I am sorry to say, it has made itself the instigator and the vehicle of international hatred. Now I am here to say that when that work is done deliberately, no expression of abhorrence or loathing for it can be too severe. I know of no roll less worthy of a man and more fitting to a fiend than that of a newspaper which sets itself to provoke hostility and to precipitate war between nations that ought to live together in peace. Compared with that, I consider poisoning innocent and honorable. And your true war-breathing editor is a combination of cowardice and greed; he takes precious good care that his own carcass be kept out of the danger, but expects to count something out of the blood of soldiers and sailors, and out of widows and orphans, so that if there be war, he applauds the excitement, but his only part in it is like that of one of those infamous creatures who haunt great battlefields after fall of night, to rob the wounded and rifle the pockets of the dead, to fill his own.

Now, my friends, having spoken thus openly of those misguided newspaper men and those unfortunate types which are a terror to civilization and a disgrace to their own profession, you will not accuse me of withholding the truth or speaking with undue partiality when I go on to say that after all a great deal of the inflammatory course of the newspaper in the discussion of foreign relations does not spring from pure malice; it arises partly from a perverted conception of what the function of a newspaper ought to be, and it arises also from false standards of what is interesting and what is important. And those false standards, I beg you to notice, are shared as much by the readers as by the conductors of a newspaper. Unfortunately, as our poor human nature goes, crime is regarded as more exciting than humdrum virtue; so war is more exciting than peace, international quarrels more exciting than adjustment through arbitration; and as there exists this feeling in the conductors of newspapers responding to the popular appetite which calls for excitement, you are to remember that much that seems wicked and cruel may be after all not the desire of the proprietor of the newspaper to induce war, but the desire to give its readers something which they will think to be sensational. When you consider this, when you consider this temptation, I think you will be inclined to be somewhat more charitable than you are to even those editors who, instead of offering olive branches among nations, are given to throwing firebrands.

My friends, I have been thinking to-day of a test that might be applied to this Peace Conference here respecting this matter, out of which I am not quite sure how we should all come. Suppose that when we broke up to-night the door yonder should be thronged by newsboys carrying extra editions of newspapers with startling headlines, announcing as a tremendous sensation that the pending arbitration treaty with Japan had been ratified by the Senate. Now, how many of you would fail to say that such a ridiculous splurge over an unimportant event was simply a foolish thing to do? On the other hand, suppose that when we went out the newsboys had a huge bundle of papers containing the telegrams, and among them those that stated there had been an armed collision in Honolulu between the Japanese and the Americans, and a dispatch stating that the Japanese fleet had sailed. How many papers do you think the boys would have